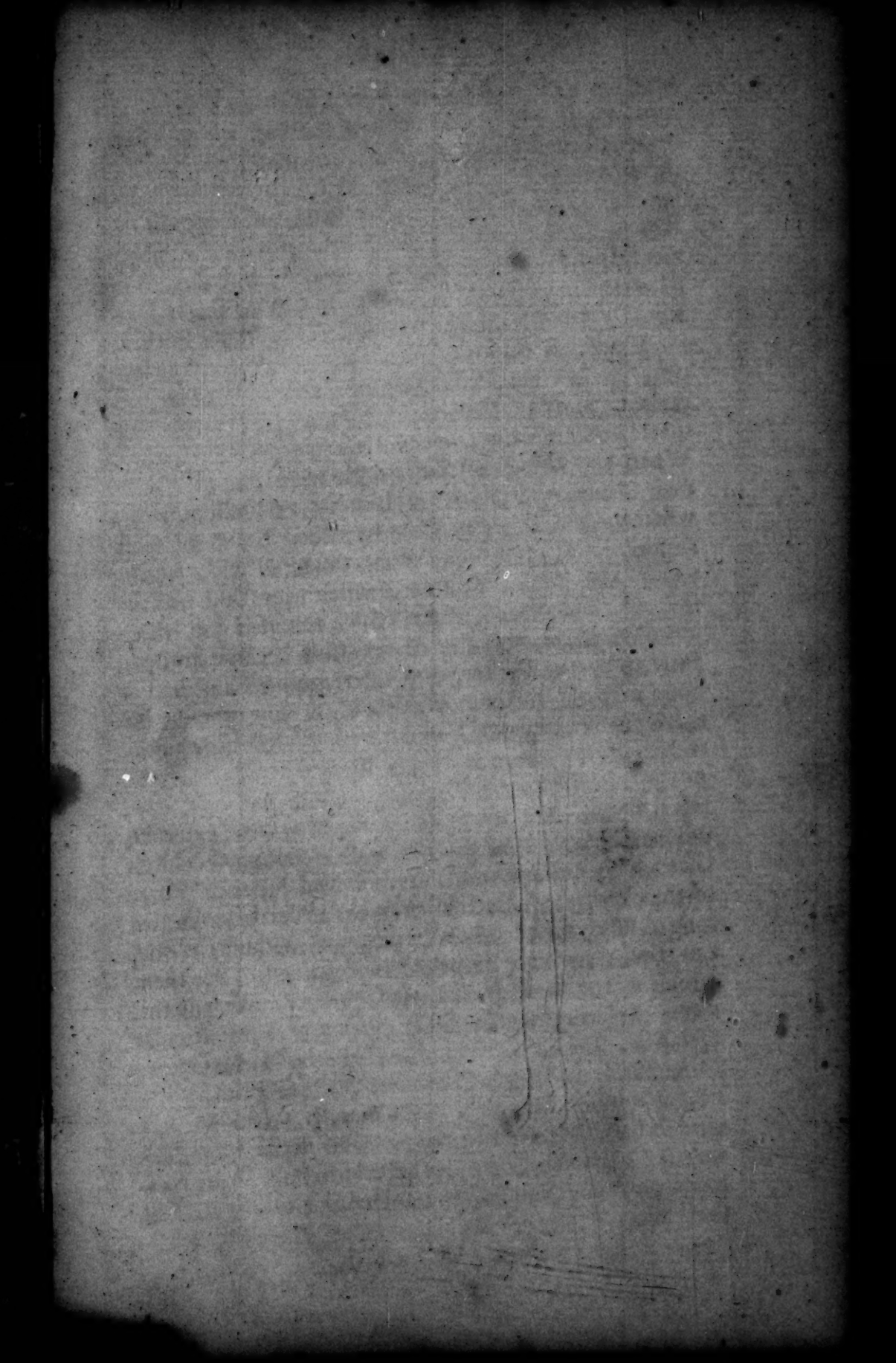




THE
Present Succession
OF
SPAIN
CONSIDER'D:

And a View of its Consequences to the
rest of EUROPE,

Particularly

ENGLAND and HOLLAND.

L O N D O N:

Printed and Sold by A. Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms,
in Warwick-Lane. 1701.

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in Strand-Lane. 1763

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THE Present Succession

OF

SPAIN

CONSIDER'D, &c.

Amongst the many surprizing Accidents
 that have, within these late Years, be-
 fallen Christendom, none have produc'd
 a greater Amazement or Consternation,
 than this sudden turn of Affairs, that has rais'd
 the Duke of Anjou to the Spanish Throne. 'Twas
 certainly a Master-piece of French Policy, tho'
 it very well deserves a worse Name. The Con-
 sequences are unforeseen; and even the Nicest
 Politicians are at a loss what to judge of the
 Matter;

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Matter; the business of the *Partition* and the *Will* has divided the Sentiments and Thoughts of many very judicious Persons; some arguing as hotly for the one, as others do for the other. There have been many Pamphlets Writ already on the Subject, and I shoud not trouble the World with any more, but that I think I shall say something that I have not observ'd taken notice of by others, tho' 'tis difficult enough to do it on such a Subject, that has employ'd so many Pens.

This Year will be famous in Chronicle for the Death of the Two greatest Monarchs in Europe, the Pope, and the King of Spain; and of one who might have been as great as either, the Duke of Gloucester; whose short Life has been as much lamented, as that of any young Prince who was ever Born with a Relation to the English Throne: But for the first that I Nam'd, one would think he had prevail'd with Nature to allow him a few Months longer than his Natural Lease, on purpose that he might live to see the end of the Century, and to perform all the sacred Ceremonies of opening the Year of Grace: The other liv'd till he had lost all hopes of an Heir; and when he found he cou'd raise no Posterity to take his Mantle from him, he left it to be scrambled for by them that can catch it; just in such a distracted manner, as a greater Man

Man did once before him, that is, to him that best deserves it; and 'tis more than I expect, if this late Monarch of *Spain* has not, by his Will, laid a Foundation for a War of as Menacing Consequences, as that *Macedonian* did, when he bequeath'd the World to him who had the longest Sword and the best Army. This Saint of a King is now laid down in the Regions of Night, and his Death has left all *Europe* as much in the Dark, at he himself now lies in the Royal *Pantheon*. The amazement that the World now stands in, is, because he has Nam'd the Duke of *Anjou* his Successor, who, in all probability, will be invested with that Empire, and, for ought I see, there's no opposition made against him.

I hope our Politicians, who are of another Opinion, will not be offended with me for saying so, especially when they shall hear that I am, as much as they can be, against the Crown of *Spain*s falling into the House of *Bourbon*: But since there's so little stir among those Powers who are most concern'd against it, I can't foresee what interruption the young King can meet with.

I wish, with all my heart, the Emperor and the Princes of *Europe* wou'd look about 'em before it be too late, before the Scepter is put in-

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to

to his Hands, and the Court of *Madrid* Sworn to their Allegiance; for when once that is done, and the Duke upon the Throne, taking upon him the Name of the *Catholick King*, and the Administration of Publick Affairs, and making himself esteem'd by his People, by acts of Bounty, and insinuating Declarations, it will be a harder matter than we imagine to dispossess him of it. There is not upon Earth a People more tenacious of what they have once resolv'd than the *Spaniards* are, nor fonder in all the observations of their Duty to their Kings, whether Dead or Alive: And if they can be perswaded to think well of the present Establishment, I know their Nature to be such, that they'll stand by him to the loss of all that they are worth.

And here it falls into our way to inquire, whether the greatest part of the Nobility and Populace of that Kingdom, will be pleas'd to have upon their Throne a Son of that Family, that for many Ages has been in Arms against 'em, always the Rivals of their Fame, and the Invaders of their Provinces: One wou'd think it strange if they shou'd, for several Reasons; First, Because of that invincible antipathy in their Natures; Secondly, Because he comes upon a wrong Foundation, there being a Renunciation of all Claim and Title to the *Spanish Crown*; and the breach of that Vow denotes the very
Family.

Family faithless, and never to be trusted; not to mention the affront put upon the Memory of their great Minister *De Haro*, by making such a Jest of that solemn League. Thirdly, Because in all their Histories they have no Example of a *French* Prince, who was King of *Spain*; it being the Interest of their own State, as well as that of their Neighbours, to keep *France* on the outside of their Frontiers: With many such Reasons as might be produc'd.

But to answer *E Contrario*; we know that the *Arch-Duke* was pitcht upon for Successor some considerable time before the King's Death, and that the Succession of the Crown was so intirely invested in him, that there was no manner of Provision made for the *French* Line: Of this Settlement the Court was well satisfy'd, and there was no other Interest made in Publick, nor any Heir talk'd of but He who was already Nam'd: Thus it continu'd a long time before the King dy'd, and might have done so still, but for a zealous hot-headed Church-Man, who by being so near the King's Conscience, had Opportunities of Cajoling him which way he wou'd.

This Cardinal being by some means or other brought into the *French* Faction, whispers the King with the Injury that wou'd be done to
France,

France, if the Succession was given away from her, and that there was no Right (notwithstanding the Treaty of Saint *John de Luz*) but what was absolutely in the Children of that Marriage: The Pious King more afraid of doing a thing that hazarded the Health of his Soul, than consenting to a Project that might undo all the Countries round him, listen'd to the Cardinal, and gave him hopes of Succeeding.

While this was depending at *Madrid*, Measures were concerted elsewhere for the safety of the rest of *Europe*, by preventing the Crown of *Spain* from falling into any one Monarchy, whether that of *Germany* or *France*. The Watchful Guardian of *England*, was at the Head of that Project, and the States of *Holland* being every way guided by so good a Pilot, follow'd him into it; Then having agreed upon Terms, according to the most reasonable way of securing the Peace of *Europe*, they propos'd those Terms to *France*, and to the *Emperor*: *France*, doubtful of his Success at *Madrid*, consented to what was offer'd him; and seeing no probability of getting all, he was glad to be content with a part: The *Emperor*, on the contrary, well assur'd of his Right, and not doubting but his Son would be declar'd Successor, refused to engage in that Partition, which was the dismembring of an Empire

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one day actually to be his; and in this assurance he stood out to the last.

But now comes the great Turn, the unexpected Catastrophe of the *Spanish Policy*. The *Cardinal Arch-Bishop* engages for the *French*, and being of great Credit in the Court, and with the Credulous King, he forms a Confederacy to help him to turn the Stream into that Channel; and, in the very moment of Death, when the King was given up to Contemplations of another Life, and was willing to forget every thing that might bring back his Mind to Earth again, This *Spiritual Tempter* came in with a Will of his own making, and told the King plainly, that he wou'd not send him to Heaven, till he had revok'd his first Will, and Sign'd That: The good King now upon the Verge of Life, consents to any thing rather than not to be absolv'd; and so to release himself, he has bound us all to more terrible Circumstances than those he was to indure in *Purgatory*. The Will was then Sign'd for the Duke of *Anjou*, and when he had done that, the *Cardinal* told him he might Die when he wou'd; So he shut his Eyes and departed.

Now I wou'd fain know what this Gigantick Will is that looks so big, and Bullies the Empire of *Germany* out of her Right and Title:

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Is there force enough in such a piece of Writing to put by the Heir from his Possession? Can the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo* make a King of *Spain* in defiance of Leagues and Inheritance; by his Office he invests the King with the *Regalia*, but what is that to the making of a King? Or is the Crown of *Spain* so precarious, that the King himself can give it away at his pleasure, to the Right or the Wrong, as he thinks fit? I don't remember any History of a Successive Monarchy that can produce an Example like it.

Queen *Elizabeth*, a little before her Death, was very much prest to Name her Heir, not that she could make him an Heir that was not so already, but because there were several Pretenders that made their Claims, and this was an expedient to prevent Animosities and Parties among the People: Accordingly the King of *Scots* was declar'd the immediate Successor, who afterwards came in, and all *England* were happy in him. This was another Matter: Here was no invading the Rights of others; here was no bequest made of the Crown, nor a Legacy that could not be countenanced by Justice and the consent of all the Laws: The King of *Scotland* was the invincible rightful Heir, and there has not been a Sovereign on the Throne of *England* of a fairer Title, and not many of so fair, so that this Example gives this
Circum-

Circumstance no advantage; for tho' this *Will* had been consider'd, made and sign'd in the time of the King's Health, 'tis beyond all controversy, that it cou'd do the Duke of *Anjou* no Service, when he has no other Title to support him.

But there has been so much said of this by others, that I shall mention it no more, and I shall say as little as I can of any thing that I have Read elsewhere.

It concerns us now to reflect on the Establishment of the Succession, as it stands at this time, to consider the Consequences of it to the rest of *Europe*, and to see what Remedy we have left us to help our selves, if there be occasion: We are all sensible it wou'd be a dreadful thing to see the Scepters of *France* and *Spain* United into one Hand, and if so, why not into one Family? Have the Ancestors of this present *French* King been more faithful in keeping their Leagues than he? I believe not, and I remember formerly to have seen a Book, call'd, *An Account of the Contraventions of France*; that made out, that all the Leagues and Alliances whatsoever made with *France*, have been to all Intents and Purposes broke, when she had opportunities of bettering her self; and that it was a Maxim there (as all particular Countries have peculiar Maxims) to make their Covenants
with

with such reservations to themselves, as to be at Liberty to evade 'em, when they cou'd get more by such a breach, than the terms of the *League* came to: And if their Ancestors have been so perfidious, why may not their Posterity?

For my part, I expect nothing but universal War in *Europe*, even in our Days, to set up an *Universal Monarchy*; and 'tis plain, we all have reason to apprehend it, seeing the ballance of Power now absolutely broke; but whatever becomes of us in the beginning of this Century, 'tis certain there will be most fatal Changes before the end of it: Perhaps he who now Sits upon the *French Throne*, may not live to do the World much more Mischief than he has already done, yet he who shall succeed him, may follow his Example, in his perfidy and contempt of Treaties, and, as he sees opportunity, work by easy degrees the intire Inheritance of *Spain* into their own Line, never to be interrupted.

But why may not this alteration be made in our Days? Whoever considers the Weakness, the Effeminacy and Dejection of the *Spaniards* at this time, will think it no hard matter. They who have read the Story of the Erection of the *Roman Empire* out of the *Roman Commonwealth*,

wealth, have found, that tho' that was a Republick, supported by the bravest Spirits in the World, Compos'd of a People rigorously fond of their Liberties, and had lasted in that form for 6 or 700 Years, with an invincible abhorrence of all Kingly Government; yet 'twas all too little for *Cesar*, who, by one Step after another, brought it out of that form, and rais'd it into a Monarchy; and when he had done that, he made it Hereditary to his own Family.

The Design was very great, but nothing was too great for *Cesar*; he had a powerful Army to back him, and an Exchequer to distribute to those he found necessary to his Design.

The King of *France* will have to do with a People already Degenerated to the lowest pitch of Infamy, and while he has so good an Army without, and so much Mony to give away within Doors, What may he not do when he sets about it? And that the *Spanish* Nobility will be Corrupted, is no hard matter to make out: Else, why such Zeal and Obstinacy for a Prince so far out of the way, as the Duke of *Anjou* was? Why such an imposition upon the easy King, as the forcing a Will upon him, which he refused to Sign till he was threaten'd with Damnation? Why such impatience for

the bringing the Young King to *Madrid*? Why such fulsome Hyperboles as *De los Rios* at *Paris* every Morning Saluted his New Master with? Why such Largesses to be scatter'd among the the People? Not to mention any more, 'tis apparent that all the measures they take tend directly to Create a Title, and not Demand it: And, indeed, his Policy in this is very *Machiavilian*, for he knows the Title is a Foundation, upon which it were ridiculous to depend, and therefore what he wants in that, he'll make out in Ostentation and Caresses: Then, when the Scepter is settled as he wou'd have it, and the Genius of *Spain* made conformable to that of *France*, then 'twill be too late to look out; then, in good earnest (as the *Spanish* Embassador said in a Compliment) *The Pyranees will be melted down, and the Barriers between the two Kingdoms utterly taken away.* And this carries me to consider the only Objection of force which can be admitted; namely, That the Duke of *Anjou* will enter into the Customs and Manners of *Spain*, Rule altogether by their Politicks, and forget that he was Born a *Bourbon*. But however probable this may seem, let us not deceive our selves; 'tis a dangerous Trial, and not to be trusted in the Hands of one descended from a Race of Kings, notorious for their Apostacy from all the bonds of Honour and Alliances.

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'Tis ill Policy to trust a Pirate with our Merchandize, who has so often plunder'd us already; or not to make a Metaphor of so literal a Truth, it will be a Melancholy Reflection, to think, that all the Commerce of the World shall be at the pleasure of two consenting Monarchs, the Grand-Father and the Grand-Child.

Here I shall be interrupted — But what harm can that cause us, if the Duke of *Anjou* stands up for an interest of his own, and renounces the Ties of Blood to depend entirely upon himself?

Suppose he does so, which, for Arguments sake we'll grant: But when he Dies, and it is again in the Power of *France* to give a King to *Spain*, Why may it not be question'd, whether he who then Sits upon the *French* Throne, won't as soon make himself King of *Spain*, as make the Duke of *Berry* so, considering the Right was first in him, or in the Elder Blood? To me it does not at all seem unreasonable: for now it cou'd not be done, because there is a Force in *Europe* to awe him, as long as the *English* and *Dutch* stand together: But that such a thing may happen hereafter is more than probable; for by that time there may be changes in other Governments; *England* may want such a King as she now has: *Holland* may want such a Stadtholder to Head her Army, and an Eng-

lish

lish King to Unite the *English* and *Dutch* Powers, and make 'em act together: By these means the two Nations, most able to keep up the *Ballance*, may come to be divided between themselves, and who shall then oppose what violence may be offer'd to make *France* and *Spain* one? Nor is this a trifling Supposition.

When the Lords and Commons of *Denmark* fell out among 'emselves about Prerogatives, the King took advantage of their Quarrels, and, while they were Rivalling each other, he stept over 'em both, and made himself Absolute, and his Government Independent of 'em, which else he never cou'd have done. The parallel is good in t'other: For when the two Ballancing Nations come (as they oft have done) to clash one with another, What Enemies will be able to confine *France*? *Germany* will not then be a Match for her; the *Emperor* has no Naval Force to contend for the Sea: The *Northern* Crowns have little to do with it: *Italy* can do nothing, 'twill be more than she can do to save her self, and in this perplexity, what can be expected but absolute uncontroulable Dominion, not to be confin'd? And let not the distance of these Events make us negligent now; they may be certain tho' they are remote; and the Children of the next Generation may have reason to Curse us for suffering a *Prince*, whom we had so much reason to mistrust, to get into his

his Hands and the Management of a *Crown* that ought never to be annex to that of *France*.

To what extremity was *Europe* reduc'd by *Charles V.* till *Francois I.* stopt him? 'Twas well there was a *Prince* then in Being, who had Strength and Courage to check his great Successes, and to keep down his swelling Empire from such a prodigious Impostumation. Till then he had met with nothing that oppos'd him, or he Conquer'd all that did: And 'tis past dispute, that he would have made himself universal Emperor, if he had not been interrupted by this Rival King: There he found his good Fortune to fail him; there the God of War, that had given him so many Victories, held up the Standard of his Enemy against him, and overthrew that Favourites he had so long espous'd; so that, from that time, to his Abdication of the *Imperial* Diadem, he found every thing go backward with him; and lest he shou'd live to see himself stript of all he had got, he withdrew from the World, before the Glory of his Arms was quite departed from him, and, in a humour, left the Empire to his Son, who lost it fast enough.

But if we turn to the comparison upon *France*, the Event will not be the same: For if *France* be so formidable of her self, what will she be, when the Sea-Ports of the Bay of *Biscay*, the *Atlantick*, and the *Mediterranean*; when the Mines of *America*,

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and the richest Islands of the World, shall be added to her? Nor can the *Emperor* do much to hinder him, the *Turk* is ready to divert him, whenever *France* has a mind to put 'em by the Ears; *England* and *Holland* may be engag'd in Emulations of their own; and if these shall not be at leisure to oppose him, where is that Power in *Europe* that can Face him in the Field, much less upon the Ocean? I hope this needs no proving; every one can Prophecy the Misery of such a Reign, if ever it comes to pass. Nor can it be suppos'd, that when a King of *France* is got to such a height of Power, he will descend from it, as *Charles* did; for as long as the Posterity of this House will be in being (and that may be to the end of the World, for they are a numerous Issue) there's too much Ambition in their Natures, to give away their Lawrel, while they are able to keep it.

But perhaps this may never happen; perhaps, as we said before, the Duke of *Anjou* will prove more a *Spaniard* than a *French Man*: Well, be it so; I wish it may: But will not the King, whether it be his *Grand-Father*, or his *Father*, resent such a Defection? Most certainly they will, and if in his New Government he acts any thing in contrariety to the Interests of that wherein he was Born, How easy will it be to set up the Elder Brother against him, especially since *Renunciations*

go for nothing, and so take him down from that precarious Throne, which he holds but by their Favour.

Or, on the other hand, suppose the Duke becomes a good *Spaniard*. The time may come when He or his Heirs may have a Right to the Succession of *France*: Can it then be thought, that he who is in possession of so wealthy, so vast an Empire, will surrender it to another, because the *Will* has so ordain'd it? 'Tis absurd to think it; and he'll be so far from quitting such a glorious Sovereignty, that the *Spaniards* themselves will help him to recover his Right, and be proud of the occasion of aggrandizing themselves, by having the Reputation of giving their *Monarch* another Empire.

This Article must be easily granted, for the Duke has left a Declaration behind him to secure his turn in the Succession of *France*, as one of his Ancestors did before him, who was made King of *Poland*: The Story is eminent in the *French Chronicle*, which says, That when *Henry III.* was Elected King of *Poland*, he left behind him a Specification of his Title; and when the Crown devolv'd upon him, he stole out of *Poland*, and came to *France* to claim it, which was allow'd him, and he was thereupon King of *France*.

Be how it will, as near as we can guess at the uncertain dependances of futurity, the result of this present Establishment, must be unhappy one time or other: And by how much the longer the Duke of *Anjou* is in possession, so much the greater will be, either his Power, or the Power of *France*, according as he acts, either for his *own*, or the interests of the *other*.

What then is to be done? There the wisest Politicians are at a loss: Our cautious King fell upon the only Method to prevent the Calamities we are to dread: And he had so far Establish'd it, that if he had to do with a Man of any Faith or Honour, we had been secure by those Measures he had form'd. But as the King of *France* has broke through all Ties of Treaties and Leagues, there is nothing hereafter to be trusted in his Word, and *that* being forfeited, we must of necessity be always in Arms to watch him.

I wou'd be far from advising the People of *England* to a War, who are but lately come out of one, which cost 'em so much: But surely there is something to be consider'd for our own Security, if *France* be now intrieging for an Union of the two *Crowns*. I must confess, 'tis more the *Emperor's* business than ours to call him to Account, for he is positively affronted by having the *Arch-Duke* Post-pon'd of his Right; but let it be his never
so

so much, 'tis ours so far, as to oppose the conjunction of *France* and *Spain* with all our Vigour; that's undeniable.

But besides that, What can the *Emperor* do of himself? His Country is so unhappily Scituated, that nothing can be like it: For *Spain* is not only a great way from him, but *France* interposes so directly between 'em, that it is impossible to come at any part of *Spain* but through *France*. And one would think, that as Nature had contriv'd the *Pyranees* to keep *Spain* out of the Power of *France*, so she had given to the *French* the Power of keeping out every Body else: By this unfortunate Scituation, it will be hard for the *Emperor* to do much in *Spain*, or, indeed, in *Italy*, unless he can outbid the King of *France*, for Marching of his Men through the *Grifons*.

But to make amends for this Misfortune, the *Emperor* has an Army not inferiour to that of *France*; some of his Veteranes being the best and oldest standing Force in *Europe*; and if he had Ships to Transport 'em through our Channel, and a good Fleet to second him, he might bid fair for the Bay of *Biscay*, and the *Straits*.

But this will be practicable at no time, but at this very juncture: For if the Young *King*, who is going to his Throne, has leisure to ingratiate himself

himself with his People, and to buoy up the Con-
currence and Hearts of the *Nobility*, his *Grand-
Father*, who has been used to that sort of Traf-
fick, can put him in a way how to do it, and help
him to Money into the bargain. To prevent this,
it ought to be the Consideration of all *Europe*, e-
specially the *Emperor's* Duty, and the *Princes* of
Italy, and next Ours, and *Holland's*, to look a-
bout us.

That there shou'd be always a strong Fleet at
Sea, every way superior to the *French*, is absolute-
ly necessary. If this be not done, and, by such a
neglect, we give *France* the opportunity of Tri-
umphing every where over us; how dismal will
it be, to have these things issue in an Union of
these two *Monarchies*; and, to so formidable a
Power as *France* already has, to see a Dominion
of Thirty Eight Thousand Miles in Circumference,
in all parts of the Globe, Allied, if not Added
to it?

But if it shou'd so happen, that *Europe*, by some
means or other, shou'd be only Lookers-on in this
Matter, and *France* attain her Ends, and arrive to
all the Greatness her Ambition has mark'd out to
her self; I say, shou'd the Councils of *Europe* be
so divided, as to suffer all this, yet we are sure,
that God can stop the Career, and fix her Bounds,
beyond which her Projecting Monarch shall, nor
cannot

cannot pass : And, indeed, we may observe in History, that overgrown Empires have never been of long Continuance ; but when they have, as it were, just attain'd to their greatest Glory, and seem'd to have reach'd their most flourishing State, they have suddenly fallen to Ruin by some unforeseen Accidents ; wherefore many Wise Princes have been perswaded, that a too large Empire is more Hurtful than Profitable, being like a Dropsical Person, who decreases in Strength as he increases in Bulk ; and I am willing to hope we may have the *French* King for an instance of this Nature ; he seems to have arriv'd to his full Magnitude, and, as he appears too great for his Neighbours, so he is almost too great for Himself ; His Politicks seem to have reach'd their full Extent, and to be in danger of Ruin with the next Stretch.

F I N I S.